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**PERIODIC MARKETS: SOURCE MATERIALS ON MARKETS AND FAIRS
IN PEASANT SOCIETY**

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PREFACE

Peasants are said to constitute "part-societies with part-cultures" in that, while "they lack the isolation, the political autonomy, and the economic self-sufficiency of tribal populations ...their local units retain much of the old identity, integration, and attachment to soil and cults"(1). Despite common adherence to this general concept in theory, social scientists have for years proceeded to study peasant communities as if each of them was an isolate. Only in relatively recent years have we begun to face outward, to examine the Little Community as a functionally dependent part of a much larger whole. One method of examining the semiautonomous nature of peasant society is to study the points of contact between the different societal components. The marketplace is perhaps the most frequently utilized of these contact points between peasantry and its opposing halves -- between the Little and Great Traditions, between the folk community and the greater society of which it forms a part. Moreover, this is so not only between peasantry and the urban elite, but also between the peasant and other peasants, other ethnic groups, and the outside world. As a consequence, the marketplace can provide a

reflection of social realities, a reflection that might profitably be observed by both the social scientist and the humanist.

Markets and marketplaces are thus involved in the very definition of peasantry. As has been pointed out by others, "the presence of markets defines nonself-sufficiency" (2). As such, the marketplace is linked to the concept of peasantry as a part-society and culture. Clifford Geertz (3) has written, for example, that "the external relations of the peasant with the wider society tend---to be phrased in economic terms, in particular in terms of his relation to the market." Krcerber himself (4) was most explicit: "Peasants are definitely rural -- yet live in relation to market towns."

The marketplaces located at the centers of these market towns display a certain similarity throughout the world, not only in the overt manifestations obvious even to the passing tourist, but also in underlying structure and functions. Peasant society implies a certain division of labor, usually accompanied by some degree of local specialization, which permits a higher level of production than is possible in less specialized economies. To utilize most effectively this greater productive capacity, there must be a distribution mechanism mediating between producers and consumers. Marketplaces are therefore necessary to these societies if they are to benefit from the division of labor. Since all peasant markets operate in structurally similar context, they all are subject to similar limitations, respond to similar demands, and can be expected to exhibit a certain degree of sameness.

In view of the importance of this institution, scholars interested in peasants are fortunate in that there has accumulated over the years an extensive literature on the marketplace, representing a wide variety of viewpoints, approaches, and interests. It is my intent in preparing this bibliography to present a major portion of the sources relevant to this topic. While a majority are the work of anthropologists (representing, perhaps, the body of literature with which the compiler is most familiar), an almost equal number were contributed by geographers, a somewhat lesser number by economists, and still others by scholars in a disperse scattering of other disciplines. There has been considerable interplay between these different types of scholars; witness, for example, the use of geographical analysis by anthropologists like G. Williams Skinner or the employment of anthropological field methodology by economists and others.

Although the periodic market is characteristic of peasant societies, it is not limited to them. It is known among both nascent peasantries, as in parts of preconquest Africa and North America, and modernizing tribal peoples, as in certain South Pacific societies where the periodic market has only recently developed. It is also present in many more technologically developed societies, for example, the "farmers markets" still found in many cities and towns of modern America. Although the periodic market is economically peripheral in all these societies, on either side of peasantry in this continuum of socio-economic and technological development, I have included them in this bibliography for comparative purposes. Thus there will be found references to works dealing with markets in both remote tribal communities and in the big cities of industrialized America, in addition to the greater

number of works devoted to peasant societies.

Thus the subject (i.e. periodic markets in peasant society) has been defined quite widely for the purposes of this bibliography. A very few of the listed materials do not even deal directly with periodic markets, but were included because they elucidate the subject by virtue of comparison (for example, an article concerning social aspects of the supermarket) or by elaboration of closely related subjects (for example, other aspects of peasant exchange systems). Several items, dating from the 18th and 19th centuries, have been included primarily for historical interest rather than analytical importance.

On the other hand, there is much which might logically have been included but was intentionally omitted. Thus the reader will find only a few (Foster, Firth, and Herskovits, for examples) of the many studies where a section on marketing is only one part of a larger, wholistic description and analysis of a peasant community. Obviously, all but the more important of such studies had to be neglected for lack of space and time. I have also intentionally omitted most of the primary source materials available, such as the various agricultural surveys. And I have not included more than a sampling of the great body of works by other than social scientists on the American agricultural fair. Those interested in this specialized topic should consult the extensive bibliography in Wayne C. Neely's work which has been listed here.

Geographically, descriptions and analyses of periodic markets come from around the world, nearly everywhere that peasant societies have been studied. Naturally, there are some regions for which we have more complete data than others. By far the most varied and extensive literature exists for sub-Sahara Africa (5). Perhaps

the most detailed study of a single marketplace is provided by the work of Alice G. Dewey and Clifford Geertz in a market town of eastern Java. We also have excellent data for the Caribbean, especially Haiti, largely due to the work of Sidney Mintz, his associates, and his students. The combined work of several scholars (principally Francisco Benet, Walter Fogg and Marvin W. Mikesell) provide a fairly detailed picture of markets in Berber-speaking communities of Morocco. All other areas appear to be less well known, although some excellent individual studies are available, such as the well-known work of G. William Skinner in China or that of several different scholars in Mexico. A few peasant societies where periodict markets are known to exist, for example the Andes and the Near East, have been studied almost not at all.

This bibliography represents an effort slowly expended over a period of several years. Till recently, there has been no satisfactory listing of source materials on the topic. With the recent publication of Robert H.T. Smith's bibliography #318, in this same series, this need was in part fulfilled. Despite some overlap, however, it was decided to proceed with publication of this second bibliography on the subject. The reasons for this decision were several. First, and most important, the actual overlap was surprisingly small. Less than one-fourth of the items in either bibliography are included in the other. This results in part from differences of emphasis. Professor Smith limits his bibliography to Asia, Latin America and Africa, and has most complete coverage of the latter. Although I include here African materials, my coverage seems to be weakest in this very area where Professor Smith's is most strong. On the other hand, I am most

confident of my coverage in Europe, an area which Professor Smith categorically excludes. But even more significant than this difference in emphasis, is the incompleteness of either of our collections of sources. A significant number of Professor Smith's citations are ones of which I was simply not aware. And, apparently, vice versa. Even in African materials, I include various items which he omits (e.g. Nyirenda, Ottenburg, Tudits, Temple, Jones, etc.). Professor Smith states in his introduction, "I...find myself continually surprised by the discovery of rather obvious references." I can only agree. I suspect that these omissions on both our parts result even more from familiarity with different bodies of literature than from differences in intent or emphasis. Professor Smith has much the better control of geographical sources, for example, and I of ethnological. We felt, then, that the two bibliographies do not compete but, rather, compliment and strengthen each other. It is hoped that taken together they will constitute important resource for the continued study of periodic markets.

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- (1) Alfred L. Kroeber. Anthropology (New York, 1938), p. 284.
- (2) Sidney Mintz. "Internal Market Systems as Mechanisms of Social Articulation," in Intermediate Societies, Social Mobility and Communication, ed. Verne F. Ray (American Ethnological Society, 1959), p. 20. Emphasis added.
- (3) Clifford Geertz. "Studies in Peasant Life," in Biennial Review of Anthropology, ed. Bernard J. Siegal. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, p. 3.
- (4) Kroeber, p. 284.
- (5) I intentionally avoid at this time the much debated question of whether or not African cultivators are technically to be considered "peasants." cf. L. A. Fallers, "Are African Cultivators to be Considered Peasants?" Current Anthropology, II (1961), 108-110.

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